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A LETTER ON EQUALITY:

ADDRESSED

TO THE

PUBLIC,

BY PHILODICEUS.

IF the foot ſhall ſay, becauſe I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? and if the ear ſhall ſay, becauſe I am not the eye, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the ſmelling? But now hath God ſet the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleaſed him.

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A

LETTER ON EQUALITY:

ADDRESSED TO

THE PUBLIC.

By PHILODICEUS.

COUNTRYMEN,

WHAT can Thomas Paine mean, when, ſpeaking of the original ſtate of man, he aſſerts the unity of man? Does he mean, that the ſoul and body of Adam, being united, formed one man? or does he mean, that Adam and Eve, being joined by the tie of marriage, formed one couple? No. He explains his meaning by ſaying, that men are all of one degree, and, conſequently, that all are equal. He might have given us as much information, and he certainly would have expreſſed himſelf with more propriety, had he told us, that men are all equal, and, conſequently, of one degree. For the ſameneſs of degree being but a part of equality, could he have eſtabliſhed the equality of men, their being of one degree would have followed as a neceſſary concluſion. But very unluckily he has

aſſumed the concluſion of a ſyllogiſm to prove the major propoſition.

What light does it throw on the equal rights of men? (as he expreſſes himſelf,) to tell us that Adam and Eve were equal? though this untruth were admitted as a fact? muſt all men be equal? becauſe the firſt couple were ſo? As well might he tell us, that all the trees of an immenſe foreſt are equal, becauſe they might originally have ſprung from two acorns ſo equal, that no perſon would have preferred the one to the other. The beſt and greateſt man that ever lived, conſidered merely with regard to his humanity, is but a man: But his virtues, his abilities, his merit, his riches, power and influence, in ſhort, the whole conſtituents of his nature, character and condition, give him a preference to others, and entitle him to rank above them.

In conſidering the equality or rather inequality of men, there is one marked diſtinction between man and the inferior creatures, to which we ought to attend. Among all the lower orders of creatures, every individual without art or education, and ſimply by the uſe of its natural powers, arrives inſtinctively at the perfection of the ſpecies. All that nature ever intended the ſpecies ſhould be, may be ſeen in any individual. There is a certain limit,

to

to which nature leads them, and beyond which they do not paſs. But the caſe is very different with the human ſpecies. The ſon improves upon the experience of the father. He adds riches to the father's ſtore. He joins invention to invention, herd to herd, and field to field, and thus, as knowledge, arts and riches, advance, the offspring differs from the founder of the family, till, at laſt, this difference becomes ſo great, that he who has always lived in an improved and poliſhed ſociety, can have no exact idea of the ſtate of men in a rude and barbarous age. The law of nature, both with regard to individuals and ſocieties of the human race, is, that they ſhould make a progreſs in the acquiſition of knowledge, of virtue, of riches, and of every thing, which conſtitutes the happineſs of the individual or ſocial ſtate. But this progreſs depends on a thouſand circumſtances, and is very different both in different individuals, and in different ſocieties. How prepoſterous then! how abſurd muſt it be! to take the original condition of man as a ſtandard to meaſure what men ſhould be in a ſtate of very high improvement, or as a level to reduce them to equality!

All reaſoning from the original ſtate of man to what he ought to be in any period of ſociety is nugatory. But if any perſon ſhould think himſelf

juſtifiable in attempting to reduce the preſent race to a ſtate of equality, becauſe, truly, Adam and Eve were equal (which, by the way is noneſenſe, becauſe it ſuppoſes they were equal before they began to exiſt) I beg leave to obſerve, that to attempt a reduction of all men to the ſame level would be to act contrary to the courſe of nature, contrary to God, both in creation and providence; that it would be an attempt even to deprive him, in a certain degree, of his ſovereign authority in beſtowing rewards and inflicting puniſhments.

1. To attempt to reduce all men to a ſtate of equality would be acting againſt God in the work of creation.

The renovation of the face of the earth, on the return of the ſpring, and the continuation of the different kinds of animals, have been, by ſome, very juſtly ſtiled a perpetual creation. Every man alſo acknowledges his own creation in particular, when he calls God his creator. But in the creation or continuation of the human race, our creator makes the greateſt difference between individuals. There are ſome men born with ſuch talents and diſpoſitions, that wherever they are placed, they will riſe in a certain degree. Their nature buoys them up. Though accident, or deſign, may tend to obſcure, or bury their talents; yet they will occaſionally

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burſt forth, like the ſun from behind a cloud; and though they ſhould never riſe above the level, where they are born, yet they will ever be the firſt in that rank, where they are placed. There are others, whom nothing can both raiſe and ſupport. Though raiſed by their friends, they cannot hold their place. Like ſtones placed on the ſurface of water, they naturally ſink to the bottom. Julius Cæſar ſaid, that he would rather be the firſt in an obſcure village of Italy, than ſecond at Rome. His bravery, his clemency, his generoſity, his eloquence, all his talents and virtues, favoured his ambition, and raiſed him to the empire. Claudius was raiſed by his friends from obſcurity and contempt to the throne; but all that thoſe friends could do for him, was never able to give him the common ſenſe and dignity of an ordinary man. The young ſhepherd, who, by the divine aſſiſtance, reſcued his father's flock from the paw of the lion, and from the paw of the bear, diſcovered, on thoſe occaſions, that courage and conduct, which afterwards enabled him to triumph over the champion of Gath, and, at laſt, in ſpite of all the envy and perſecution of Saul, raiſed him to the throne. The natural raſhneſs, imprudence, and over-bearing temper, of Rehoboam, as much as his young counſellors, dictated to him, that anſwer which was the immediate

cauſe of the twelve tribes revolting from him; otherwiſe he would have rejected the counſel of the young men with contempt. I know it will be ſaid, that the exaltation of David, and the revolt of the ten tribes, were determined by God. The obſervation is juſt. Every thing, even the moſt trifling in appearance, is determined by an over-ruling providence. But in the conduct of providence, the great ruler of the world commonly makes uſe of natural means. And the natural means of David's exaltation and honour, and of Rehoboam's partial fall and diſgrace, was the courage and conduct of the former, and the haughty anſwer of the latter; and that courage and conduct, and that anſwer aroſe from a natural and original difference in the men. In ſhort, men, with regard to each other, are like liquors of different ſpecific gravities put into a bottle; the natural tendency of which, however ſhaken, is each to aſſume its proper place. But to attempt the reducing of all men to the ſame level is to act in oppoſition to God, who, in creating men, has made original and inſuperable diſtinctions.

2. To attempt the reducing of men to the ſame level would be to act in oppoſition to the all-wiſe and irreſiſtible providence of God.

We have but now ſeen, that there are original diſtinctions

diſtinctions amongſt men, diſtinctions formed by nothing but a divine hand; and on theſe original diſtinctions, as a foundation, are raiſed innumerable others of an adventitious kind. A wiſe man is always diſtinguiſhed from a fool; a ſtrong man from a weak; and a virtuous man from a vicious. But if a man, who unites in his own perſon, many natural talents and good diſpoſitions, has virtue to improve and apply them, his ſuperiority over a man of a different character, will, in time, become very great. In this manner providence favours thoſe original gifts, which are beſtowed by a divine hand. But it does more. It is ſolely owing to that providence, which determines the time and all the circumſtances of our birth, and the bounds of our habitation, that one man is born of virtuous, rich, and powerful parents; and another of parents that are vicious, poor, and of no weight in ſociety. And theſe providential advantages contribute much to raiſe a man in the world above the level of his equals. A virtuous parent will give his ſon a virtuous education; the tendency of a virtuous education is to form a virtuous man; and the tendency of virtue is to acquire wealth, reſpect, and influence. A parent alſo who is rich and powerful, will do much to promote his ſon. He will give him a certain portion of his goods or eſtate, and he will

will recommend him to others, who may be of uſe to him in the acquiſition of wealth and reſpectability, or even honour. And who can blame him. A man ſurely may diſpoſe of his own as he ſees meet. And he who will not, by all lawful means, provide for his own, though a Chriſtian in name, is, in reality, an infidel. Nay the children of good men, though left orphans, are often favoured, and brought forward in the world, for the ſake of their fathers. Thus, David ſhewed ſuch favour to Mephiboſheth for his father Jonathan's ſake, that he not only reſtored to him the lands of Saul, but did him the honour of having him continually at his own table.

The fortunes of men, in a natural or providential way, frequently depend very much on the fortunes of their connexions, and are ſometimes wholly involved in theirs. Though Jonathan had not fallen with Saul on mount Gilboa; yet as the appointment of David by God, his natural abilities, his character, and conſequent popularity, had all, deſtined him to the throne, the family of Jonathan would have ſunk into private, perhaps, obſcure, individuals. But when David roſe; all his family acquired a proportionate elevation.

It might be eaſily ſhewn alſo, that the vices, the weakneſs or poverty of the parent, may, in ſome caſes,

caſes, ſink the child below the condition, in which he is born; and that they will ever retard, and, in ſome caſes, prevent his riſing; but this I omit, that I may not be tedious.

But independent of natural talents and diſpoſitions, independent of the adventitious circumſtances of birth, education, and friends, there is a providence, which rules over all, and varies indefinitely the condition and rank of men. You will find two men born with equal natural advantages, born, educated, and brought forward in the world upon a level; and yet, in time, by a concurrence of unforeſeen cauſes, one of theſe men ſhall remain in, or fall below, the condition, in which they were born, and the other riſe far above it. Thus it is, that the Supreme Being checks the preſumption and ſelf-confidence of men, and ſhews that promotion is not the neceſſary conſequence of natural and circumſtantial advantages; that it cometh not from the eaſt, nor the weſt, nor the ſouth, but that he is judge; and that he putteth down one, and ſetteth up another.

We ſee therefore, that though providence, in its natural and ordinary courſe, promotes men to riches and honour, according to the uſe they make of their talents and diſpoſitions, and according to the power and influence of their families and friends; yet

yet it frequently rules the fortunes of men in a ſovereign way, and creates diſtinctions, which none could have foreſeen. To attempt to aboliſh theſe diſtinctions, therefore, and reduce all men to a ſtate of equality, would not only be unjuſt and impracticable, but it would be acting as much againſt the diſpenſations of an all-wiſe and beneficent providence, as it would be to attempt to alter the courſe of nature in any one reſpect. I ſay nothing here of the injuſtice and impiety of the attempt. I ſpeak of it only as contrary to nature, contrary to the providence of him, who is the God of nature.

3 To attempt to reduce all men to a ſtate of equality would be to act in oppoſition to God's moral government of the world, that government, by which as a king or maſter he reſpectively rewards and puniſhes good and bad actions in his ſubjects or ſervants.

There are ſcarcely any of thoſe natural and adventitious diſtinctions amongſt men, ſuch as ſtrength, underſtanding, good diſpoſitions, riches, and honour, which may not be improved by the practice of virtue, and loſt by the practice of vice. And the practice of virtue is always indiſpenſibly neceſſary, in order to preſerve them.

Though health depends, in a great meaſure, on the natural goodneſs of the conſtitution; yet temperance

perance is neceſſary to the preſervation of it; and, generally, this firſt of bleſſings is the natural reward of that virtue. Temperance is as neceſſary to the preſervation of the faculties of the mind in their vigour; but, in order to ripen them, and give them a ſtrength not natural to them, care and diligence in applying them to their proper objects is abſolutely requiſite. Good diſpoſitions alſo, though the gift of nature, require careful cultivation, and the long, and frequently painful practice of our duty, before good habits can be ingrafted on them, before they expand themſelves, and appear in all their richneſs and beauty. Riches are ſometimes an inheritance, but they cannot be preſerved without proper management: Nor can they ever ſcarcely be acquired without ſome ſort of labour on the part of ſome perſon or other. Honour, in a certain degree, is ſometimes alſo an inheritance, even in thoſe countries where there are no artificial diſtinctions, as when a ſon is reſpected and regarded for his father's worth; but, in all countries, every man's reputation will reſt ultimately on his own merit; and by that, as the ſtandard, will men meaſure that ſhare of reſpect and honour, which is his due.

But all thoſe bleſſings, which diſtinguiſh one man from another, may be forfeited by vice. For, in

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ſhort, virtue, in reſpect of theſe diſtinctions, as well as in many other reſpects, brings, along with it its own reward, and vice its own puniſhment. Thus it is, that God rewards temperance, induſtry, œconomy, and every ſpecies of virtuous actions with health and ſtrength of mind, with riches, honour, and other diſtinctions; and puniſhes exceſs, negligence, prodigality, and all ſorts of vice, with bodily and mental weakneſs, with poverty and diſgrace; by which men either ſink below their original ſtate, or become diſtinguiſhed only as objects of averſion and contempt. Length of days, ſays Solomon of wiſdom, that is of wiſe and virtuous conduct, length of days is in her right hand; and in her left, riches and honour. And the diſtinctions, amongeſt men, created by wiſe and fooliſh conduct, are marked by him particularly, and in the ſtrongeſt terms. The *wiſe in heart*, ſaith he, ſhall inherit *glory*, but *ſhame* ſhall be the promotion of *fools*. The effect of virtuous or vicious conduct is not indeed always to exalt or ſink men. For very frequently there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked. But the tendency of virtue is to diſtinguiſh men by all that is beautiful, lovely, and good; the tendency of vice to diſtinguiſh them by every thing that is ugly, deteſtable, and evil. But he who gives theſe different

ferent tendencies to virtue and vice, is the judge of all the earth; and by giving them theſe tendencies does he ſhew himſelf to be a governour of the world, who rewards and puniſhes his ſervants by a certain rule operating, in a great meaſure, and generally, according to their works.

The ſum of this argument is, that the great governor of the world diſtinguiſhes ſome men from others by conferring on them ſuperior power, riches, and honour, as the reward of the rectitude of their conduct; and that he puniſhes others, for their vices, by placing them in a condition directly oppoſite. Whoever, therefore, ſhall attempt to aboliſh theſe diſtinctions, and to reduce all men to a ſtate of equality, will, in this reſpect, act contrary to God, conſidered as a king, and endeavour, in ſome meaſure, to wreſt from him his ſceptre.

Upon the whole, to attempt to equalize men is to act againſt the Almighty, in creation, in his natural providence, and in his moral government of the world.

I am certain, that many of our modern levellers are not aware, that, in endeavouring to eſtabliſh equality, they are acting againſt God; otherwiſe they would turn from the idea with abhorrence: Nor do I know, that any political writer has repreſented the levelling ſcheme exactly in this point of

view; but if they will give themſelves the trouble of reflecting, they cannot but perceive the truth of all that has been advanced.

I ſhall now offer to the reader a few reflexions on what has been ſaid.

1. I would obſerve, that the eſtabliſhing and maintaining of equality is impoſſible.

The inequalities, amongſt men, with reſpect to wealth, power, eſtimation, and rank, are the neceſſary reſult of unequal talents and diſpoſitions, of unequal opportunities of diſplaying thoſe talents and diſpoſitions, and of a variety of circumſtances, determined indeed by God, but with regard to us, entirely fortuitous. If it be natural for the ſea to ebb and flow; if it be natural for the moon to aſſume various phaſes; if it be natural for the ſun to riſe and ſet; if it be natural for all vegetables to ſpring and wither; it is natural for men to be unequal. The inequality which prevails amongſt them is no leſs natural, no leſs neceſſary than their bloom, and decay, and final diſſolution. But when we are able to invert, or any how alter, the courſe of nature; when, by means of our *new light*, we can teach the rivers to return to their ſources; when, by our *new laws*, we are able to chain the deep, and ſet bounds to its "proud waves;" when we ſhall have found out an invention for arreſting the

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ſun in his courſe, or forcing him to alter it according to our humour and caprice; then may we ſeriouſly think of eſtabliſhing equality, and of doing it with ſome probability of ſucceſs. It has been a thouſand times obſerved, that, if men were all equal to-night, they would be unequal to-morrow; and this inequality would increaſe with the lapſe of time, till at laſt it became great in the extreme. There is a fable that prevails amongſt ſome of the people of this country, that certain of the fallen angels, for their rebellion againſt God, were doomed to make ropes of the ſand of the ſea. Such would be the curſe, and ſuch the fruitleſs taſk of thoſe, who ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh equality; which would be a violation of one of the moſt general laws of nature.

The fact, here, entirely correſponds with the theory. In ſeveral nations, on their firſt eſtabliſhment, or in a period but little removed from poverty and rudeneſs, attempts were made, to eſtabliſh ſome ſort of equality; but all theſe attempts proved fruitleſs. The yoke of equality was, in one of them, at leaſt, * painful, whilſt it was borne, and in all of them nature threw it off; and men, in thoſe very nations, became as unequal as in any nation of the preſent age. To eſtabliſh and maintain equality therefore is ſimply impoſſible; and

* *Sparta.*

the whole of the levelling ſcheme viſionary, and abſurd.

2. But not only is the eſtabliſhing of equality impoſſible; but the very attempt to eſtabliſh it muſt prove ruinous.

The ancients, who ſeem to have been better philoſophers than many of our moderns, thought, that the perfection and happineſs of man, conſiſted not in oppoſing nature, but in ſtudying it, in following it, and in living according to its laws. By living according to nature, they underſtood not the living according to the impulſe of lawleſs paſſion and deſire, but living, actuated by all the motives of our nature, under the direction of ſound reaſon, and conſcience. And if our happineſs conſiſt in living according to nature (as the phraſe has been defined) miſery and ruin muſt be the conſequence of oppoſing it, that is, the conſequence of an attempt to eſtabliſh equality.

We have a certain nature given us by our creator, and are placed in certain circumſtances; in which condition we are neceſſarily under the laws of nature, and have no choice, but either to conform ourſelves to our condition by living according to thoſe laws; or to rebel againſt nature, and be miſerable. But it has already been ſhewn, in a manner that is unanſwerable, that to attempt to eſta-

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bliſh equality, would be to act againſt God, that is againſt nature. What then have we to expect from ſo unjuſt, ſo wild an attempt, but certain miſery and ruin? Can we "harden ourſelves againſt God, and proſper?" Can we, without periſhing, ruſh on "the fierce boſſes of his buckler."

If there were to be a partition of property, it would be a partition, not of land only, but of property of every kind down to a farthing. All property therefore, in that caſe, muſt be thrown, as it were, into one common heap; and an equal diſtribution of all made among all. But is it not eaſy to ſee, what oppoſition this ſcheme muſt meet with? not only from the proprietors of land, but from all men, whoſe property or income is greater than their neighbours? nay, from every man, however mean his preſent condition, who may, at any diſtant period, expect to better his circumſtances, and riſe to ſome degree of inequality? and would not this oppoſition immediately produce a civil war, and more horrours than have yet been experienced by wretched France?

Here again, the theory and the fact agree. The Romans attempted to limit the ſize of eſtates, and to divide certain lands won from the enemy, among the ſoldiers, who had won them. Theſe, and not an equal partition of property, were the objects of

their *Argarian Laws*. The lands indeed were divided among the ſoldiers; but no laws could be made, that had force to limit the ſize of eſtates. The reaſon was, that ſuch laws, in that government, where men might both ſpend and acquire, would have been as much againſt nature, as they would be in ours. Yet the attempt to enact and enforce ſuch laws, joined to the privilege of voting individually, which the people had acquired, was the cauſe of the civil wars that ruined that ſtate. The people were divided; ambitious men ſeized the opportunity, and ſet themſelves at the head of different factions; and from that time Rome became a continued ſcene of tumult, war, and ſlaughter, till Auguſtus gave it peace and ſlavery. And what reaſon have we to expect, that we ſhould eſcape theſe calamities, were we to attempt to eſtabliſh equality? None at all. We are made of the ſame fleſh and blood with the Romans; and ſimilar effects will ever be produced by ſimilar cauſes. An attempt, therefore, to eſtabliſh equality, would prove ruinous, ruinous to the life and property, to the peace and happineſs of individuals, and ruinous to public liberty.

But ſuppoſing it poſſible to eſtabliſh equality, ſuppoſing alſo, that this could be done quietly and without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, laws muſt be made

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to ſupport it; otherwiſe, it muſt be fleeting, and ſhort-lived indeed. All arts and ſciences as the means of procuring riches, all commerce and manufactures, all methods of acquiring and ſpending beyond a certain meaſure, muſt be entirely proſcribed. Or if by any means, one ſhould become richer, and another poorer than their neighbours; or if there ſhould be either an increaſe, or a diminution of the number of the inhabitants; there muſt be a new partition of property. And this method, it is evident, muſt be continued.

But ſuppoſing this alſo could be done without any great inconvenience, the eſtabliſhing of equality, and the laws made in ſupport of it, would extinguiſh, in every breaſt, that flame which gives life and motion to all, which keeps every head and every hand active, which gives richneſs and beauty to the country, and information and happineſs to the people; and we ſhould ſink into a lethargic liſtleſſneſs, into the moſt profound ignorance and ſtupidity, and into the extreme of proverty and miſery. Theſe are the baneful fruits that would hang on the tree of equality!

3. As there can be no doubt, therefore, that the eſtabliſhing of equality would be impoſſible; as the very attempt to eſtabliſh and ſupport it would be attended with private and public ruin, and eve-

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ry ſpecies of wretchedneſs; what are we to think of Thomas Paine? who has more than inſinuated, that men ought to be equal? who, in various paſſages of his writings, has endeavoured to excite, in the peoples mind, a deſire of eſtabliſhing equality?

There are but two concluſions that we can draw, either that he was a fool, and did not foreſee the conſequences of his plan; or that he was ſomething much worſe, and endeavoured to hide the direful effects of it from the public eye.

It is not ſurprizing that ſome of us ſhould have been miſled by this author. Never was there a book written with more plauſibility, with more deluſive and ſeductive art than his publications. Had he written nothing but truths, though his genius ſeems better calculated to miſlead than inform, his publications would have been harmleſs, and might have paſſed unobſerved into the ocean of oblivion: Had he written only falſehoods and error, his writings would have been equally harmleſs to others; and perhaps he himſelf might have eſcaped with impunity, on the ſuppoſition of his being inſane: But this artful man has ſo blended truth and error, he has ſo infuſed the poiſon of aſps into the ſalutary draught of truth, that he has blinded the underſtandings and infuriated the hearts of many.

His

His falſehoods, his errors, his viſionary ſchemes have ſerved him as an enchanters wand; with the touch of which he introduces his reader into Fairy-land; leads him in flowery paths through myrtle groves; and preſents nothing to his view but harmony, peace, riches, and happineſs. He conceals the pit, which lies before the traveller. He hides the dæmons of *Diſcord*, *War*, and all confuſion and miſery; which are ready to burſt forth, and to change this fair and pleaſing ſcene into a blaſted heath covered with ruins and ſlain; over which Slavery and Miſery, inſtead of Liberty and Equality, preſide.

If we have read his books, and publications of the ſame kind, only, we may ſtill wander in thoſe mazes of error, which lead to ruin: But if we read books on the other ſide of the queſtion, if we diveſt ourſelves of prejudice, if we reflect, and carefully compare things together, and conſider them in all points of view, and in all their conſequences, we ſhall all of us deteſt his doctrines, as more fatal to us than the moſt direful peſtilence that ever raged over the earth.

Laſtly, though we are, and muſt ever be, in ſome reſpects, unequal; yet we are not reſtricted to any certain condition by the laws of our country. On the contrary, the very inequality that

prevails

prevails amongſt us, gives animation to all in every rank, and inſpires each with a deſire of riſing. And as we enjoy more ſtable and true liberty than any other nation on the face of the whole earth, every man is left to purſue any occupation whatever, in order to raiſe himſelf to the ſummit of his wiſhes. Accordingly, the hiſtory of this country affords many inſtances of men, who have riſen from poverty and the loweſt ranks of life to affluence and honour. There are many living inſtances of men, who, by their care and induſtry, in their lawful occupations, have amaſſed large fortunes; and not a few of thoſe, who have riſen from the rank of commoners to the order of nobility. And what theſe men have done, every man is at liberty to do. His ſucceſs depends on the will of that being, who controuls all, and is irreſiſtible.

But ſhould we never ſucceed in raiſing ourſelves above the ſtation, in which we are born; there are certain reſpects, in which we are all equal, and muſt ever remain ſo, till, perhaps, through the exceſſive deſire of change, or ſome great national calamity, we loſe our excellent conſtitution of government.

We are all equal in point of liberty. We are all born free, and we remain free. There is but one law for all his Majeſty's ſubjects of whatever rank. And if we uſe our liberty without abuſing it, that

is,

is, if we live like Chriſtians in ſerving our creator, whoſe ſervice is perfect liberty, and perfect happineſs, we ſhall all be equally happy. Viſit the country and the city, the cottage and the manor-houſe, and you will find, that our great maſter who is no reſpector of perſons, deals out happineſs with an impartial hand. If he ſeems to be partial, it is only becauſe he is juſt and good. They who ſerve him beſt, always receive from him moſt of real bleſſings. In every ſtation of life, inward peace, tranquillity and joy, are the rewards, which he always beſtows on the good. Even in the meaneſt cottage, he diffuſes, through the hearts of his ſervants, that peace and chearfulneſs, that contentment with preſent bleſſings, and that hope of future rewards, which are more than a compenſation for the want of external bleſſings; which conſtitute that merrieneſs of heart, as Solomon expreſſes it, which is both to rich and poor a continual feaſt.

Thus, Countrymen, without pointing out other reſpects in which we are all equal, it is evident, that we are equal with regard to liberty, that choice bleſſing, and with regard to happineſs, the object of all laws and inſtitutions, and of all our cares and labours. That we may ever uſe our liberty without being licentious; and that we may

ever

ever be happy, and know our happineſs, is the earneſt deſire of Countrymen,

Your well-wiſher,

PHILODICEUS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the preceding pages are but a ſpecimen of a work, which will ſoon make its appearance; yet they may be read by themſelves, and to ſome perhaps, with a conſiderable degree of advantage.

The matter of the intended publication will be arranged under the following heads.

1. The Rights of Man, in a ſtate of Nature, and as a ſubject of Civil Government.

2. Equality. Under this head the ſubject of equality will be conſidered in various points of view, and the objections againſt titles and nobility obviated.

3. Univerſal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments. Here the ill conſequences of ſuch a mode of election will be ſhewn.

4. Obſervations on the preſent ſtate of our repreſentation.

5. Liberty, conſidered under the three heads, Civil Liberty, Religious Liberty, and the Liberty of the Preſs.

6. The objections againſt Kingly Government obviated.

7. Obſervations on the Britiſh Conſtitution of Government, in which ſome of the excellencies of it will be pointed out, and the objections againſt it refuted.

8. Compariſon of the Britiſh form of Government with Republican forms of all kinds, by which the ſuperior excellence of the former will evidently appear.

9. Obſervations on Taxes, &c.

10. Reform, and the ſuppoſed neceſſity of a Convention.

11. Caution againſt French principles and practices.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It will be printed in ſuch a manner, as to render the price as low, and the circulation as wide, as poſſible.

N. B. Though the title of two of Thomas Paines Publications is the Rights of Man; yet no perſon can learn, from either, or both of them together, what the rights of man are. Had theſe books been *common ſenſe* it might reaſonably, have been expected, that they would have anſwered, in ſome meaſure to their name. Nor has this author taken the ſmalleſt notice of the Duties of Man; though it is evident, that the rights and duties of men are, in practice, inſeparable. But, perhaps, this did not fall within any part of his plan.